

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	225
The Outlook	225
Law and Order (Verse)	226
N.W.S.P.U. Announcements	227
Programme of Events	227
Contributions to the £50,000 Fund	227
Tamworth By-Election	227
History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst	228
What is Womanly? By Laurence Housman	229
"Christabel Pankhurst's Day"	230
Progress of Women	231
March On!	232
The Political Outlook	233
Shelley (Poem)	237
Our Post Box	237
A New Book Reviewed	238
The Campaign Throughout the Country	238
Local Notes	238

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

As the year 1908, so eventful in the annals of history for women, comes to a close, we ask our readers to direct their attention back to the end of the year 1907, and mark the tremendous progress which has been made in the past twelve months.

A Year Ago.

At the end of last year the Women's Social and Political Union occupied seven rooms in Clements Inn, in three of which, accommodating about 120 people, the weekly At Homes were held on every Monday afternoon; it had raised and expended the sum of about £7,000; it had filled the Queen's Hall, London, and several other important halls in the country; it had conducted an open-air campaign, including many meetings attended by several thousand people. VOTES FOR WOMEN had run for three months as a monthly organ, and had obtained a circulation of 2,000 copies; the literature department had done a

trade of about £600; and the Union had put in a great deal of valuable work at many by-elections; but the effectiveness of this work was not generally acknowledged.

Office Expansion.

During the year 1908 in every field of activity the Union has expanded and enlarged itself several-fold, until to-day it is acknowledged on all hands to be an important factor in the political situation. At the commencement of January six additional rooms were added to the office premises; these have been since increased on two occasions, until the rooms occupied by the staff now are seventeen in London alone. But this figure does not adequately represent the advance, for whereas in 1907 three of the offices were largely given up for the purpose of the weekly At Homes, these have been transferred, firstly to the small Portman Rooms, then to the large Portman Rooms, and now to the Queen's Hall. Meanwhile, Thursday evening At Homes have been started in the offices, then transferred to the Portman Rooms, and are in the new year to be held in the St. James's Hall, Great Portland-street. Further than this, in several of the most important provincial centres premises have been taken and occupied by the Women's Social and Political Union, at which their work is being carried on. This is the case in Bristol, in Manchester, in Bradford, in Birmingham, in Newcastle, Glasgow, and Torquay.

By-Elections.

In the middle of January took place the mid-Devon election, when the previous Liberal majority of 1,200 was converted into a Conservative majority of 559. This remarkable result was admitted on all hands to be largely due to the active work of Mrs. Pankhurst and other members of the Women's Social and Political Union. This has been followed up by successful achievements in other parts of the country, the most noticeable being in Peckham, North-West Manchester, Haggerston, and Newcastle, at all of which striking evidence of the effect which the women produced is available from outside sources.

Arrests and Imprisonments.

In February the Union was shocked by the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, the revered founder of the movement, on the most trivial charge, and by the sentence of six weeks' imprisonment in the second division which was meted out to her. At the same time a large number of other arrests were made. At the end of June a further series of arrests occurred as a result of a renewed attempt to interview the Prime Minister. On this occasion sentences of three months were meted out to second offenders. A third series of arrests took place on October 13 for a similar attempt. And this time Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond were charged with "inciting," and sent to prison for three months and ten weeks and three months respectively. Mrs. Drummond was, however, released after a fortnight, and the others after eight weeks. The trial and sentences created profound indignation.

Financial Developments.

These attacks on the part of the Government roused the members of the Union to the highest exertions, and in no months was greater progress made than during the period of their incarceration. During the self-denial week which followed the February arrests £3,000 was raised, which by special donations at the Albert Hall meeting was increased to a total sum of £7,000. But this splendid effort did not exhaust the financial resources of the members; during the whole of the year 1908 a total sum of £19,000 has been subscribed and ex-

pendent, thus trebling the total subscriptions which had been previously forthcoming during the whole period of the Union's existence.

Woman Suffrage Bill.

In February also the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill was carried through its second reading in the Commons by the large majority of 271 to 92, but owing to the weak action of its supporters in the House who allowed it not to be sent to a Select Committee, and owing to the refusal of the Government to give any further time for its discussion, it was not carried through any further stages, and was abandoned.

Public Indoor Meetings.

In March the Albert Hall was packed from floor to ceiling with women who had come to protest against the continued disenfranchisement of their sex. This was the first occasion on which this great hall had been filled in the cause of Votes for Women, but on three subsequent occasions it has since been filled by women for the same cause, once for a meeting convened by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and once for a meeting of the Liberal women, and for a second time in October by the women of the Women's Social and Political Union. In addition to these meetings in London meetings in the largest halls in the provincial towns have been held. On several occasions the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, has been crowded to overflowing; the Town Hall, Birmingham, has been filled on several occasions; the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, and the St. George's Hall, Bradford, are among the many halls which have been taken and filled by meetings in support of woman suffrage, and the W.S.P.U. alone has held several thousand indoor meetings at which the question has been enthusiastically received.

Weekly Newspaper.

In April the great interest in the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN decided the editors to produce it weekly instead of monthly, and so great has been the interest in the weekly issue that the circulation has now reached the figure of 15,000 copies per week, and its growing popularity justifies the confidence that in the course of the coming year this number will be several times multiplied.

Mr. Asquith's Offer.

In May Mr. Asquith, replying to a deputation of Members of Parliament, made his famous pronouncement which has so often been referred to as an offer to woman suffragists. In that pronouncement he declared his intention before he went out of office of moving an Electoral Reform Bill (for men only) to which it would be open to a private member to move a woman suffrage amendment, which, under certain conditions, would not be opposed by the Government. This so-called offer was at once rejected by the Women's Social and Political Union, who, in spite of criticism from outside agencies, showed up the hollowness of the proposal. It is interesting to observe that this view is now largely shared by others of all shades of political opinion.

Outdoor Demonstrations.

On June 21 took place the historic demonstration in Hyde Park, when countless multitudes streamed into the park from all parts of London, the total numbers being estimated by the *Times* newspaper at probably half-a-million, and possibly three-quarters, thus exceeding several times over any demonstration which had ever previously taken place in support of any political reform. This great demonstration was followed by others of a similar character in different parts of the country, including meetings in Heaton Park, Manchester; on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds; in Nottingham Forest; on the Downs at Bristol; and in many other places. At some of these demonstrations it was estimated that over 100,000 persons were present.

The Campaign Throughout the Country.

In July was inaugurated by the Union a special system of developing the country by national organisers, and country campaigns were opened in the West, in Lancashire, and in Yorkshire; subsequently other campaigns were started in the Midlands, Newcastle, and Scotland, wherein the work of the

W.S.P.U. has been extended to various parts of the country, and the interest which is felt in these districts has found a permanent and healthy centre of activity.

The Trial of Mrs. Baines.

In November took place the trial of Mrs. Baines in Leeds, which was the first occasion on which a woman suffragist had received a trial by a judge and jury for her action in demanding the vote. Mrs. Baines was defended by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. The trial evoked very considerable interest, and, though the jury in the end brought in a verdict of guilty owing to their belief in the correctness of the police evidence, it was felt that Mrs. Baines had made a great impression by her pluck and consistency.

Protests at Meetings.

In December the Women's Social and Political Union demonstrated at the meeting in the Albert Hall, addressed by Mr. Lloyd George, and showed that they were not prepared any longer to allow words of Cabinet Ministers to take the place of deeds. This action was done in pursuance of the settled policy, which has achieved great success through the year, of constantly interjecting comments at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, a policy which, though largely misunderstood, is becoming recognised by political experts as in keeping with the traditional policy of those outside constitutional rights. The action of the women in this matter has called forth the special legislative energy of Parliament, and in the last few days of the session a special Bill was hurried through both Houses making such action in the future punishable by fine or imprisonment. Such an Act, however, will have no effect upon this method of agitation.

Release of the Leaders.

In the same month of the year took place the release of Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Leigh from prison, and a breakfast was given at the Inns of Court Hotel, where the large room, holding 460 people, proved quite inadequate for the number of those who wished to be present on that occasion. In the evening a meeting of extraordinary enthusiasm was held at the Queen's Hall, where a vast audience gathered together at only five days' notice to do honour to the brave spirit of the founders of the Union.

Literature.

Among the most remarkable signs of progress during the year has been the growth of the literature department of the Women's Social and Political Union, which was in March converted into "The Woman's Press." During the twelve months a turnover of some £2,000 has been effected, representing the sale of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, &c., and a disposal of half-a-million leaflets.

LAW AND ORDER.

[Reference has been made above to the deputation to the Prime Minister on June 30; it is to this that the following verses, written at the time, relate.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

Five months ago, when women tried to walk from Caxton Hall
To Westminster, the order came they weren't to walk at all.
For deputations to approach—save with submissive awe—
The People's House was then declared to be "against the law."

And so they came and took us up before we'd gone a yard,
And locked us up in Holloway for four or six weeks' hard;
For Government, and magistrate, and newspapers as well,
Said that such conduct with the law was "incompatible."

Yet Tuesday last, when some of us attempted it once more,
Policemen and inspectors came and waited at the door,
Inquiring most respectfully if they might be allowed
To give us their protection, and escort us through the crowd!

We did not know the law had changed, for someone in the Hall
Denounced us for proposing a desperate move at all;
But here supporters of the law stood round us in a ring,
As though repeating the offence were quite the proper thing!

Of course we had not made the law which said we weren't to go;
But the police escorting us, we thought were sure to know;
And if the gentlemen who make the laws will kindly now explain—
Shall we be lawbreakers suppose we do it once again?

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

At Homes in the New Year.

Early in the New Year the series of At Homes which have drawn such large numbers of people to listen to speeches from members of the Women's Social and Political Union will be recommenced. The first of the At Homes for the New Year in London will be held on Thursday evening, January 7, from 8 to 10 in the St. James's Hall. Christabel Pankhurst will speak, and the chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Admission is free, but there will be a certain number of reserved seats at 2s. 6d. and 1s. Similar meetings will be held in the St. James's Hall every Thursday evening except January 14. The other At Homes in various parts of the country commence about the same date. Particulars will be given in next week's issue.

At Homes in the Queen's Hall.

The first of the Monday afternoon At Homes from 3 to 5 in the Queen's Hall will be held on Monday afternoon, January 11. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Pankhurst will both speak. Admission will be free, but a certain number of seats will be reserved at 2s. 6d. in the stalls, and the whole of the dress circle seats will be charged for at 1s.

Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst.

Owing to the release of Mrs. Pankhurst before Christmas, the breakfast planned for January 9, the date on which she was expected to be released, has, of course, been abandoned, and also the meeting on the same evening in the Queen's Hall. Instead it has been decided to hold a special meeting in the Queen's Hall on Thursday, January 14, at which the presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst will be made. On the same occasion a presentation will also be made to Mrs. Leigh. Mrs. Pankhurst's presentation is a chain and pendant of amethysts, pearls, and emeralds, wrought in gold by a special expert in artistic jewellery, and is very beautiful. The committee feel sure that it will satisfy even the members and friends who feel that nothing is beautiful enough to express the thoughts and feelings that they have about the founder of the Union. On this occasion the whole of the hall will be charged for, prices 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. Tickets can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements' Inn, W.C., or from the box-office, Queen's Hall. This meeting will supersede the ordinary Thursday evening weekly At Home in the St. James's Hall on that date.

Lectures in the New Year.

The programme of lectures for the New Year has been modified. Instead of the lectures mentioned a few weeks ago, it has been decided to retain two only. Miss Chrystal Macmillan, who recently fought the case of the Scottish graduates in the House of Lords, has kindly consented to lecture on Tuesday, February 16, and Elizabeth Robins, whom we are always delighted to listen to, will lecture on February 23. Tickets will be issued shortly, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. The lectures will be in the St. James's Hall.

Exhibition at the Princes' Skating Rink.

Arrangements are proceeding for the great exhibition which is to be held by the N.W.S.P.U. from Monday, May 17, to Saturday, May 22, in the Princes' Skating Rink, Knightsbridge. All information with regard to the same can be obtained from the Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

"Votes for Women" Bound Volume.

So great has been the demand for the bound volumes of VOTES FOR WOMEN that the whole of the original number have been sold, and also all but five of the twenty-five further volumes which were bound after reprinting the issue of January, 1908. After these are sold the issue for December, 1907, will have to be reprinted and the price raised to 15s. This will enable a further twenty-five volumes to be bound. If after these are exhausted there is still a further demand, other issues will have to be reprinted, and the price still further increased in order to cover the necessary outlay. Orders, therefore, should be sent at once to the publisher, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Readers who have copies of any of the issues prior to August are asked to send them at once to the publisher, to make up sets for binding. Full price will be paid for copies in good preservation.

By-Election Policy.

The Woman's Press are issuing a new penny pamphlet, "The By-Election Policy of the Women's Social and Political Union," by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. This contains not only a description of the policy adopted at the by-elections, but a very large number of extracts from the newspapers showing the effective nature of the women's work.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to January 29.

Jan. 2	Manchester, 164, Oxford Road	"Votes" Corps 11 a.m., 1 p.m., 6.30 p.m.
Sat. 3	Walk'ien I.L.P.	Miss Dora Marsden, B.A.
Wed. 6	Manchester, Members' Meeting, 164, Oxford Road	8 p.m.
Thur. 7	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	Mrs. Martel
London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street, W.	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others	8 p.m.
Fri. 8	Levizes, Town Hall, Debate	Miss Isabel Seymour
Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10 p.m.
Sun. 10	Brixton, Raleigh College Hall	Miss Macaulay
Mon. 11	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst
Wed. 13	Bolton, Wood Street Social Club	Dr. Letitia Fairfield
Thur. 14	London, Public Meeting, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst Mrs. Leigh
Manchester, St. James' Institute, Collyhurst	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Great Portland Street, W., Shop Assistants' Amalgmd. Union	8 p.m.	
Fri. 15	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe
Mon. 18	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence
Peterborough Debating Society	Miss Isabel Seymour	3-5 p.m.
Tues. 19	Southwater, Sussex, Debate	Miss New
Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Thur. 21	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst
Mon. 25	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst
Leicester, Corn Exchange	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Thur. 28	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others
Fri. 29	London, Drawing-room Meeting, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson's 22, Bedford Square	Mrs. Pankhurst
Leytonstone	Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENT.

1909	Princes' Skating Rink	Exhibition
May		

NOTE.

The response to the appeal for by-election funds, made at Queen's Hall on the evening of December 22, has been most generous, £175 having been subscribed or promised; this leaves only £25 to clear the expenses should a contest take place. Another most cheering incident is the subscribing of £100 for a new organiser; £25 for this purpose was sent up by the London City W.S.P.U. at the Queen's Hall Meeting.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

December 23 to December 29.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Already acknowledged	26,080 9 8	Contributions to By-election Fund—	
Miss Winifred Hobday (collecting card)	0 10 0	Mrs. Bather	2 2 0
Miss E. A. McKenzie	0 5 0	Miss C. F. Fagan	3 10 0
Miss J. C. Methven (for band December 22)	0 10 0	Miss F. Spong	1 0 0
Miss C. E. Mordan	30 0 0	Miss E. C. Pugh	11 0 0
London City W.S.P.U. (towards expenses of organiser)	25 0 0	The Misses Townley	5 0 0
Miss A. E. Willson (weekly)	£1 1 0	Miss Caroline Turle	10 0 0
Mrs. Massy	4 0 0	Miss Smythe	1 1 0
Lady Knyvet	4 0 0	Miss Dora Spong	1 0 0
Mr. and Mrs. Lamarine Yates	5 5 0	Miss Russell	1 0 0
Horsforth Habitation of the Primrose League (donation)	1 1 0	Mrs. C. H. Maitland	1 0 0
Miss Eleanor Wilson	1 1 0	E. T. Maitland, Esq.	1 0 0
Miss M. L. Moore	0 6 0	Mrs. M. E. Webster	1 1 0
Mrs. Ward Higgs	1 0 0	Miss Dorothy Landan	1 1 0
Hubert Morgan-Browne, Esq.	5 0 0	Miss Barbara Ayrton	5 0 0
Miss Helen Denny	10 0 0	Mrs. & Miss A. C. Moser	0 4 0
Mrs. Zellner	1 1 0	Per Miss A. Pankhurst—	
Miss McMurdo	1 1 0	Mrs. Hardy Behrens	1 10 0
Mr. and Mrs. Basil Belmont	0 10 6	Bradford W.S.P.U. (collected for lantern slides)	0 7 6
Per Miss Campbell (for Bradford secretary)	1 0 0	Per Miss M. E. Gawthorpe—	
Scottish W.S.P.U.	2 0 0	H. S.	0 10 0
Miss D. Lawrence	10 0 0	F. A. M.	1 5 0
E. E.	0 5 0	Miss Taylor	0 10 0
		Dunkingfield Liberal Association (lecture fee)	1 1 0
		Sales at stall	1 10 0
		Membership entrance fees	1 19 0
		Collections, &c.	135 10 1
		Total	£26,374 7 9

TAMWORTH BY-ELECTION.

Unionist Mr. F. A. Newdegate.

The figures at the last election were as follows:—Sir Philip A. Muntz (Con.), 7,561; Mr. J. Seymour Keay (Lib.), 4,842.

It is uncertain yet whether a Liberal candidate will present himself for the Tamworth vacancy created by the death of Sir Philip A. Muntz. Should he do so, a vigorous campaign will be conducted by the W.S.P.U., under the charge of Mrs. Drummond.

A QUESTION FOR THE HOME SECRETARY.

(To be Asked on Every Possible Occasion.)

Whether his attention has been directed to the sentence upon Mr. James Farrell, M.P., of six months' imprisonment in the first division, for refusing to be bound over on a charge of incitement and intimidation, and whether he will advise the Crown to exercise its prerogative of mercy, and transfer the prisoner from the first to the second division, in order that it may not be said that in this country there is one law for women political offenders and another for men.

L. H.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXXVIII.

As we saw last week the by-election policy of the Women's Social and Political Union first came into real prominence at Cocker-mouth, where Christabel Pankhurst and her colleagues did much to secure the defeat of the Liberal nominee. This independent by-election policy was an entirely new one for women to take up; in the whole history of their movement they had never before resorted to it.

It was greeted now with a storm of ridicule and abuse. How foolish of women, it was said, to thus offend the Government that had the power, if it chose, to give them what they asked! How absurd it was, too, for women to disregard their parties and how angry those parties were!

Some of the members of the W.S.P.U. had formerly been Liberals, and though the Liberal Leaders steadfastly declared that the action of the women could make no possible difference to the situation, they were yet deeply incensed by the thought that women should dare to put the question of their vote before every Party consideration, and instead of seeking to win the Government's favour as they had done in the old days, should prefer to come out and work against them. To a man the Party Politicians were surprised. Who would have dreamt, they said, that women could be so selfish? Even the Labour men were discontented (though their candidate, Mr. Robert Smillie, had not been attacked) for there were Labour women in the W.S.P.U. and they considered that these women ought to have been working directly for their Party, and not to have been subordinating its interests to the getting of votes. The Conservatives alone said very little about the matter, for their candidate had won, and, as they had, therefore, no reason to be aggrieved, they contented themselves with merely declaring that a glorious victory had been won for the cause of Tariff Reform.

So much for the Politicians. The Political Press with scarcely an exception had from the very first been unanimous in their hostility to the W.S.P.U. and its methods, just as they now were in their condemnation of its latest action. All this of course was to be expected, and so was comparatively easy to meet, but even among some of the warmest supporters of the Union there was now much heart-searching and heart-burning because of this independent by-election policy. Many of those who had agreed with all that the Union had done hitherto now felt that a mistake was being made in thus holding aloof from men's party organisations. They admitted that in theory the independent policy was well enough, but they felt convinced that it was doomed to fail. The women by their clever speeches and the undeniable justice of their cause would be almost certain to convince the electors; this was admitted freely; but the British elector was a hard-headed individual, urged the critics, and he could never be induced to throw aside his party politics and to cast his vote on this one issue alone, especially as this issue did not directly affect him. No, it was agreed that the policy was "not sufficiently constructive." If the women would use their influence with the electors to enhance the popularity of some particular Candidate or Party with a general and comprehensive reform programme to recommend him, then they might have a chance of success, but this policy of theirs would only be possible with an electorate of heroes, not with average men. For this reason it must fail.

But in spite of these gloomy predictions, the W.S.P.U. held to its course and did not swerve one hair's breadth from the plan of campaign that it had laid down. The firmness of its attitude was largely due to Christabel Pankhurst, who had originally devised the independent

The By-Election Policy of the W.S.P.U.

by-election policy, and who now, perhaps even more than at that first Free Trade Hall protest, gave evidence of that keen political insight and of that indomitable courage and determination which are so essential to real leadership, and by means of which she has been able to do so much to bring the militant suffrage movement safely and even triumphantly through the shoals and quicksands that have beset its path.

On the following August 14 Annie Kenney, Mrs. Sparboro, and Mrs. Knight were released from Holloway. After a cordial welcome by large audiences in Hyde Park and other parts of London, Annie Kenney set off on a provincial tour. She was received everywhere with tremendous enthusiasm, but especially was this the case in Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the people assembled in tens of thousands to hear her speak.

In October she and Teresa Billington went on to Scotland, and visited Mr. Asquith's constituency of East Fife. While they were in the neighbourhood it was announced that Mr. Asquith was to speak at Ladybank on October 18, and in conjunction with the local Suffragists they asked him to receive a Votes for Women deputation. Hitherto Mr. Asquith had always, as we know, refused to grant any such request, but in his own constituency he judged it wisest to consent. He accordingly did so, on condition that the deputation should be composed only of women who actually resided in the division. This naturally proved a great disappointment to the local women, who would have preferred that Miss Kenney and Miss Billington should have been there to help them in stating their case; but though they were not allowed to be present with the deputation and to hear Mr. Asquith's answer for themselves, the two Suffragettes succeeded in holding an excellent meeting whilst the deliberations were in progress, and in effectually explaining Mr. Asquith's answer as soon as it had been brought to them outside. In reply to the deputation of local women, Mr. Asquith stated that the question of Women's Suffrage was one in which for a long time past he had not taken much interest.

"I have long been of opinion," he said, "that the probable results, whether for good or for evil, of the political enfranchisement of women, are much exaggerated by almost all the supporters and by very many opponents of the proposal, at the same time I still retain the opinion that, on the whole, the balance of argument is against the change."

He then went on to say that he had yet seen no satisfactory evidence that the majority of women desired the franchise, and added that it was—

"Better that no addition should be made to the opportunities for ventilating and, perhaps, remedying special grievances or special interests of particular classes of women than that they should be dearly purchased by the putting in jeopardy of the status, the position, the real authority, and the unique influence of women, as a whole, in the community. Any change of this kind will not commend itself to the intelligence of the nation, unless you can carry it through without permanent injury to the best interests of the women themselves."

It was with such false sentimentalities that Mr. Asquith sought to excuse his obstinate opposition to the women's just demand, and by speaking thus lightly of the special grievances of their sex that he tried to weaken their determination to secure the power to remove them, but his hearers were not misled by his words. For, indeed, it was hardly likely that in Scotland, where women do so much of the hard and laborious work of the fields, and where in some counties the majority of the farm labourers are women, these unreal platitudes could be treated seriously. Nor was it possible that the women could forget the special burdens and hardships of their sisters at a time when the scandalous underpayment of thousands of women workers was being rendered notorious by sweated industries exhibitions in London and other important centres. As might well have been expected, therefore, the deputation were angered by this reply. "Then there is no hope for women?" asked one of them. But Mr. Asquith only answered, "The women must work out their own salvation."

To work out their own salvation was, however, just exactly what the Suffragettes had made up their minds to do, and as Mr. Asquith left the hall he was greeted with hooting and cries of "Shame!" by the demonstrators outside.

(To be continued.)

WHAT IS WOMANLY?

Away in the country, especially in the narrow life of small provincial towns, one finds no argument weighing so heavily against the movement for woman's enfranchisement, and more particularly against the "militant" methods, as the assertion that they are "unwomanly"; and by "unwomanly" one soon finds that the objectors mean "unladylike," for they immediately go on to apply such adjectives as "screaming," "hysterical," "unreasonable"—attributes which we know very well are, in this particular school of thought, regarded as essentially and almost exclusively feminine. The Suffragists are, therefore, accused almost in the same breath, both of deserting and of accentuating the characteristics of their sex. Both charges cannot be true. But one does not look for logic where prejudice is the main factor; and it is noticeable that the cleverest exponents of the anti-suffrage position have long since been forced to vacate the standpoint of mere logic, and to take up—it may be higher ground, but certainly ground on which assertion plays a far more prominent part than proof. And so we get this assertion that the "woman's movement" is unwomanly, and that its character is shown by the methods it employs.

It is with that point that I here wish to deal. And I shall best meet the objection if I give a few examples—right away from the question of political enfranchisement—of how women, when greatly stirred, do and always have behaved in opposing, for a cause dearer than life itself, a physical power greater than their own. Let me take the case in Italy, some thirteen years ago, of the women's opposition to the unnecessary, unpopular, and wholly unprofitable war then being waged with Abyssinia. There the peasant women, when all other means of agitation had failed, and when their husbands and sons were being drafted in their conscripted thousands for embarkation, threw themselves bodily in front of the trains, not merely in scores, but in hundreds, so that for miles the lines had to be guarded by troops and barricades, more numerous even than are needed for the protection of a Tsar in momentary fear of assassination. And so embarrassing to the Government was that action of the women that it formed a very important factor among the influences which brought the war to a close. Was that action, I ask, "unwomanly"? It was certainly "unladylike."

But very likely some of my readers will endeavour to ride off on the argument that the temperament of Italian women is very different from the temperament of English women. It is very different indeed. English women as a race are far more calm and self-contained. When, therefore, we see thousands of normally quiet English women stirred much as these Italian women were stirred, over matters political, should we not be led to suspect that there is something very much amiss to carry them so far from their ordinary line of conduct? Let us still, however, keep to example for argument. Take a mother, no matter of what nationality, whose child is snatched from her arms either by kidnappers or by would-be murderers. Is it not womanly instinct which makes her, in spite of her physical weakness, hurl herself against the robbers, and fight to her last breath for the recovery of her child? And has not that instinct a basis, albeit an unconscious one, closely akin to wisdom? For the sight of a woman, desperate, facing impossible odds, is harrowing to the human heart; and wherever two or three are gathered together, even for base and criminal purposes, some common spark of humanity may yet linger in their midst, and the very desperation of the woman

may bring it to life, and so win triumph for her cause. That argument has, at all events, been used to good effect by dramatists, who are supposed to study and represent life in its more crucial aspects, and again and again that same story has been repeated in history. Human nature in its extremity is very eloquent, and human nature does tend to draw towards its extremes when faced by long-continued cruelty or oppression. "Womanliness," on the other hand, as generally understood, has nothing whatever to do with extremes. The women who appear in this conventional sense most womanly to-day are those who find themselves well provided for, and believe themselves to be well protected, and into whose lives no flagrant contradiction to that belief has yet entered. In their own quiet and narrow circle, they do appear gracious, gentle, and lovable, and very often they are as they appear. But side by side with all that gentleness and grace there moves a great, crowded world of oppressed and over-driven womanhood, in relation to which remedial measures and just-dealing are falling more and more into arrears. Are these more fortunate women in their self-contained lives quite so "womanly" when viewed in relation to those dark and pressing problems of modern life? Have they been "womanly" during the last forty years in contentedly letting go, as no concern of theirs, that terrible grinding spirit of commercialism and greed which has during that time forced its way or kept its previously secured place in so many of our laws, and which has its stronghold in our great centres of population and industry? Is it "womanly" for them to stuff their ears, as it were, with cotton-wool and speak only in low tones of their own quiet domestic concerns, deaf to the cries around them of a civilisation in pain? Those who take so narrow a view of their womanly duties are not, as a rule, the women who are altogether contented with all that legislation has done during the last fifty years. They talk of Radicalism as a thing of dread, of Socialism as born of infidelity and greed; yet they have done nothing to carry the true spirit of Christianity from the home into the making of our laws. That lies, they say, outside their sphere! In their kind parish-rounds under clerical direction they come upon many things which shock and disturb their hearts, but they do not give their minds to the finding of a true remedy, for these things come, they say, by laws legislative and economic over which they have no control. And so, shut up in their narrow view of "womanliness," they pass the opportunity by, too much accustomed to regard man's brain in civic matters as the complete and practical instrument, and their own as the unreliable and subsidiary, to realise that what the world suffers from to-day is the loss of one-half of its equipment of human heart and brain for the remedying of those social and moral problems which are now bringing civilisation to grief.

"Womanliness" forbids them to believe that the commonwealth has need of their aid to correct the mistakes and the over-hardening influence brought about by the unbalanced jurisdiction of men, and that the best help they can give is of a kind which many of our law-makers are too blindly prejudiced to desire. Man's need of help in things legislative is the discovery of those true women who to-day are fighting to win citizenship, and it is the pressure of that need which makes them fight as they do. Many women are hugging to their hearts a domestic peace which they have not earned, and it is sometimes, I think, as a salve to their uneasy consciences that they blame as "unwomanly" those who have renounced their peace and the comfortable conventions which are so pleasant and easy to observe, because in no other way can this great battle for the fulfilment of womanhood be won.

Laurence Housman.

"CHRISTABEL PANKHURST'S DAY."

The culminating point in the festivities that celebrated the release of Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Leigh, described in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, was reached on Tuesday evening (December 22), when, following on their magnificent reception by the London crowds, they were the speakers at a special meeting at the Queen's Hall. They were received with outbursts of enthusiasm, the cheering and clapping coming from men as well as women all over the great hall, which was packed from floor to ceiling. The expressions of loyalty to their leaders and enthusiasm for the cause were profoundly impressive, and it was evident that the thousands who had gathered to do them honour had been stirred as never before in the history of the movement to appreciation of the sacrifices made by women who have spent many weeks in prison in the cause of political liberty. If "encores" were the order of the day on such an occasion, each speaker would have been recalled again and again.

In all parts of the hall the colours of the N.W.S.P.U. were in evidence. The chairman's table was festooned with purple and white flowers, which wreathed a banner bearing the text of the measure "To Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women," in purple letters on a white ground. Chairman and officials were in white dresses, relieved by the purple and white regalia or decorations, and the scheme of colour was completed by Mrs. Pankhurst, on the left of the platform, wearing purple, while Christabel Pankhurst, on the right, wore pale green silk.

On the stroke of eight the organ broke out into a jubilant march, and the commanders, captains, and other officers of the W.S.P.U., wearing white dresses and carrying the colours, matched to their places on either side of the chair. With three exceptions (Mrs. Baines, Mrs. Martell, and Miss Ogston), all the organisers were present. "General" Drummond, with Mrs. Baldock, Miss Jessie Kenney, Miss Marsh, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Mary Phillips, and Miss Gye represented London; Miss Annie Kenney, the West of England; Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Lancashire; Miss Conolan, Scotland; Miss Edith New, Northumberland; Miss Adela Pankhurst, Yorkshire; Miss Gladice Keevil, the Midlands; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst (organising secretary *pro tem.*) was also present, and there were two new probationers, Miss Ball and Miss Flatman. After this guard of honour came Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Christabel Pankhurst, and the cheering which greeted their appearance was tremendous, cheering, clapping, shouting, and waving of handkerchiefs by the women and hats by the men lasting nearly ten minutes.

When the tumult had subsided Annie Kenney stepped forward and presented Christabel Pankhurst with a flag of fine banner silk in the colours, mounted on an aluminium staff, with a gilt shield, on which are inscribed the dates in Christabel Pankhurst's career which coincide with the prominent dates in the history of the W.S.P.U. In making the presentation Miss Kenney said the honour of presenting the colours of the Union from the members of the W.S.P.U. had been given to her because she was the first member to go to prison with Christabel Pankhurst in 1905. She explained to strangers to the movement what the colours meant to women fighting for their political liberty, how the White meant purity in private and in public life, the Green hope for the cause and for the human race; the Purple, the royal blood flowing within the veins of every man and woman loving freedom, and prepared to fight against oppression and tyranny. It was because the members of the W.S.P.U. realised the splendid and noble things that Christabel Pankhurst had done that they made this presentation. When they gave her their colours, they gave with them their love, devotion, and admiration, and, she continued, "I say to Christabel Pankhurst, all we have done in the past to help her in the great cause of liberty we are prepared to do in the future with greater vigour and more zeal than ever before. Members of the Women's Social and Political Union, organisers of our Union, may we ever be as true to our colours as Christabel Pankhurst has been!" Miss Kenney then read out some of the notable dates on the staff, on which is engraved, "Presented to Christabel Pankhurst by the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, December 22, 1908." The first important date was October 13, 1905, "The first arrest." Then came July 3, 1905, "Attained L.L.B.," July 4, 1908, "Became chief organiser," February 13, 1907, "Second arrest," June 21, 1908, "Hyde Park Demonstration," October 13—the lucky day of the W.S.P.U.—"The third arrest of Christabel Pankhurst."

"So, Christabel," she concluded, "with our love and with our

admiration we present to you the colours of our Union, and we present them with great admiration for your noble, sacrificing, unselfish nature, which aroused in every woman the love of fighting for political liberty. Long live Christabel Pankhurst! One two, three, Christabel!"

The great gathering took up the shout, and in the silence which followed Miss Pankhurst rose to reply. "I am very glad, friends," she said, "that you chose as the hand which should present to me this gift that of Annie Kenney. She and I had the honour, of which we will be proud to the very last day of our lives, of being the first two militant Suffragists. There are a great many of you now. If Annie Kenney and I could have seen this day when we took our first militant action, how happy we should have been!"

There was again enthusiastic cheering, and flags were waved as Christabel Pankhurst resumed her seat, the organ playing the "Women's Marseillaise," in the singing of which the entire audience joined.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then addressed a hearty welcome to the three released prisoners. They had, she said, lifted and purified the whole of public life by what they had done, and they had left a precious heritage to those who came after. The service which they had rendered to the cause of Freedom would never be forgotten—(cheers)—nor could the persecution to which they had been subjected. It was time that the people of this country recognised this movement for what it was, and the splendid women at the back of it. (Cheers.) Unlike the present political party in power, they had leaders who could lead—(laughter)—generals who could plan out a campaign, and, what was more, generals who could fight. (Cheers.) Mrs. Lawrence added that the reception was specially in honour of Christabel Pankhurst. They were reserving the celebration of the release of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh until January 14, and were not going to be done out of their double welcome. (Cheers.)

Mrs. Lawrence then called upon Christabel Pankhurst to speak, and this was the signal for another great demonstration of enthusiasm, which lasted for about five minutes, the entire audience singing, "For she's a jolly good fellow," and many shouting "God bless you," from the gallery.

The speech which followed is reported verbatim on pp. 233-237. At its close Mrs. Pethick Lawrence made an appeal for the war-chest, and especially for funds to carry out the by-election policy of the W.S.P.U. at Tamworth. Among the cheques and promises sent in were £30 from Miss Mordan, "£10 each month for Mrs. Pankhurst's sentence," and £11 from Miss Pugh, being "all I have earned since our leaders have been in prison." Miss Maud Joachim gave a further £15, and Miss Caroline Turle £10; and the London City W.S.P.U. sent up £25 for a new organiser, the total sum amounting to nearly £300.

A graceful incident was the presentation by Miss Balfour to Mrs. Pankhurst of a replica of a medal struck to commemorate the winning of the Bastille in the French Revolution. In thanking the donor, Mrs. Pankhurst said:—"Mrs. Balfour knows that I was born on July 14, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. I shall treasure and wear this medal because I have always thought that the fact that I was born on that day has had some kind of influence over my life. I have always been very proud that I was born on that day. I shall wear it as a constant reminder that it was women who gave the signal to spur on the crowd, and led to the final taking of that monument of tyranny, the Bastille, in Paris."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then called upon Mrs. Pankhurst to address the meeting. On rising Mrs. Pankhurst was greeted with the waving of the colours by all the organisers and other officials on the platform, and by a great outburst of cheering. A verbatim report of her speech appears on page 232. Next came Mrs. Leigh, who said the Government could not have given her a better Christmas present than to allow her to be with her leaders on their release. For that alone she wished them the compliments of the season. She had left a little message on her slate, which she had intended to send in a letter to the Home Secretary: "Peace on earth, and goodwill to women as well as to men." Miss Pankhurst had compared the Government to a pirate-boarded ship. She had a vision of the lifeboat being launched by the Suffragettes, who had nailed their colours to the mast, and they never intended to take them down, even when they had got the vote. (Cheers.) Her contention was with the Government, with legalised robbers, who took the money that women sometimes had to earn and pay towards their up-keep. Very shortly the Government would have to go, like a naughty little schoolboy who had forgotten his lessons, before their masters, the people of the country. (Cheers.)

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence having wished the audience a happy Christmas, the proceedings closed.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women and Law.

The Progress of Women during 1908 has been marked by the appearance on at least four occasions of a woman pleading in the Courts. In three instances the subject of the pleading was connected with the Woman Suffrage movement; on the other, Miss Neale, a native of Carmarthenshire, acted at Cardiff Assizes as counsel for her father. The case, a very intricate one, was concerned with certain coal workings. In November Miss Chrystal Macmillan and Miss Frances H. Simson conducted the Scottish Graduates' case before the law lords of the House of Lords, the appeal being that by which five Scottish women graduates sought to establish their right, as graduates and members of the general council of one or other University, to vote at the election of the Members of Parliament for the Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities. In December Miss Mary Coleman appeared before the New York Appellate Division as counsel on behalf of Dr. Julia Seton Sears, for a writ of mandamus to compel an election board to register her as a voter. Still more significant from the W.S.P.U. point of view was the Bow Street trial in October, when Christabel Pankhurst conducted the case about which the *Daily News* wrote at the time:—"Incidentally, as a by-product, so to speak, in the process of obtaining votes for women, we are quite sure that Miss Pankhurst will succeed in securing their admission to the bar. Hitherto the woman who wanted to earn her living at the bar has been alone in demanding the removal of this sex disqualification. But after the subtlety and the audacity of Miss Pankhurst's achievement as a counsel from the dock, the pressure from their possible clients will reinforce the demand from the women themselves. Miss Pankhurst has, indeed, won the degree of LL.B. But the legal profession, which is of all trade unions the most conservative, and the most frankly self-regarding, does not accept a mere evidence of proficiency in legal studies as a qualification to plead. We are much behind the Continent in this detail of enlightenment. Women advocates do brilliantly in Paris, and the Bavarian Government has issued an instruction that a preference in certain classes of cases is to be given, even from the official side, to women barristers."

A Gallant Woman.

For the first time on record, Lloyd's silver medal for saving life at sea is to be presented to a woman. Miss Kate Gilmour, upon whom the committee have decided to confer the honour, was stewardess on board the s.s. *Sardinia*, which was destroyed by fire off Malta on November 25. Undeterred by the terrible danger, Miss Gilmour refused to leave the ship until all the women and children had been rescued, and she remained on board urging and encouraging the panic-stricken Arabs to avail themselves of the boats, saving many lives by her splendid coolness and courage.

Presence of Mind.

Commendable presence of mind was shown by two women during Christmas week in capturing thieves. In one case a Mrs. Sayers, of Beckenham, on a man named Gunning presenting at her house a petition which he said was authorised by the Beckenham Council, rang up the Council offices on the telephone; the police were communicated with, and Gunning was arrested on the doorstep.



By the courtesy of the "Daily Mirror."

"CHRISTABEL PANKHURST'S DAY."

At Battersea, a man who, it was alleged, had first stolen a bicycle, rode up to a jeweller's shop in Falcon Road, and leaving the machine outside went in and asked to see some rings. Miss Lilian Allen produced a tray of rings for his inspection, whereupon he snatched it from her hand, and, wishing her good-bye, rushed out of the shop. Mounting the machine, he proceeded to ride away with his booty, but Miss Allen seized him by the collar of his coat and detained him until assistance arrived. The police stated that on the way to the station the prisoner said, "I must say she is a plucky girl. I came out in the morning with the intention of sinking or swimming, as I wanted something to carry me over Christmas." The man was committed for trial.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (two lines).

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed next Session.

MARCH ON!

A verbatim report of the speech delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst at the Queen's Hall, December 21, 1908, following Christabel Pankhurst's speech.

Friends who have so kindly welcomed us to-night, I am glad this is not my night, because I have not any longer that physical vigour of youth, which has just filled me with so much maternal pride. But I am thankful to say that though I have not the physical vigour of youth I have come out of prison with as much youthful spirit as the youngest girl in this hall.

Well, after all, what have we, my daughter and I, done more than the other women who have been to prison this year? They did more than we have done, because they served three months in prison—some of them had been in six weeks before that—they were three months in Holloway Gaol in the hot summer, in that horrible atmosphere from which we have suffered. That horrible atmosphere—that airless place—and they had to go there in the summer, whereas we have had the advantage of having cooler weather. Yet you did not make as much fuss of them as you are making of us, and the Press did not give as much prominence to their imprisonment as I am glad to think, for the sake of the cause, they have given to ours.

Now, I do not mean to deal with it to-night, but I am going later on to say a good deal about prison. We, who are called the leaders of this movement, at first set ourselves not to complain of prison, not to say anything about it, to avoid it, to keep away from side issues, to keep along the straight path of political reform, to get the vote, because we knew that when we had won it we could reform prison and a great many other abuses too. But I am going to say to you, that now that we have had in the witness-box the admission of two Cabinet Ministers that we are political offenders, the women who are fighting in this agitation are in future going to demand the treatment that is given to men political offenders in this and other civilised countries. If nations are still governed so that they make political offenders, then Great Britain—my daughter was right in saying we want to stand at least equal with other nations—Great Britain is going to treat her political offenders as well as political offenders are treated by other nations. If it were the custom to treat political offenders as ordinary offenders against the well-being of society are treated, we would not complain if we were treated like that; but it is not the international custom to do it, and so, for the dignity of the women of the country, and for the sake of the consciences of the men of the country, and for the sake of our nation amongst the nations of the earth, we are not going to allow the Liberal Government to treat us like ordinary law-breakers in future. We women of the Women's Social and Political Union are proud of this

—that we have never yet said we would do a thing that we have failed to do!

Now, to-night, I am not going to tell you how we are going to make the Liberal Government treat women political offenders in a better way in future, but we are going to do it. If, in the course of this agitation, it again becomes necessary for women to come into conflict with the Government of the country in the way we have done in the past—we hope it will not be necessary, we hope that Woman Suffrage will find a place in the King's Speech—we shall not bear any malice. We shall be very glad if the Government have at last seen what they ought to have seen at the beginning—it would have saved all this trouble—what they *would* have seen if they had believed in their own principles, what they would have done if they had not been so misguided as to think they could crush this agitation out, starve it out, kill it. Well now, they know they cannot do it, and you know they cannot, and we who have been in prison, and who have come out, well, if we had any doubts before—though we had not—we know they cannot.

Mrs. Lawrence—I do not yet know all you have done, but you have done so wonderfully while we have been away, that we really wonder whether it would not be best for the cause that we should stay in prison! You see, I knew it would have that effect before we went. I knew you would be put on your mettle to show what you could do while we were away, what you have done whilst we have been in prison might well prevent us from being conceited, and teach us that we are not indispensable. You have shown that you can do much without us. Of course, that is the secret of this movement. Every woman amongst us knows perfectly well, that however clever she is, and however earnest and devoted she may be, she can never get this thing by herself. We have got to get it together. It never has been a one-woman movement, and it never will be a one-woman movement. Some women saw it a little sooner than the others, but as soon as they learnt how to tell other women how it ought to be done, as soon as they made other women see that they believed in women, and believed that women could do this, then victory was assured.

Well then, we are going away for this holiday, which we have been told we must take, and which we feel ourselves, if we are to do the effective work that, of course, we are going to do, we ought to take. We are going away—it is really a sort of sacrifice to go away with that Tamworth By-election, but still we are going, and we are coming back. It doesn't seem very long, you know, between now and the Assembling of Parliament for the new Session, but you can do a great deal in a very short time if you make up your mind.

Now we hope that the Government will be wise in time, and that Woman Suffrage will be in the King's Speech, then all will be well. If it is not there, we know what we shall do. We are prepared for any fortune, because we know that even if it is not in the King's Speech, every moment of delay is really excellent for the Woman's Movement. If we had got the vote at the beginning, if the Liberal Government had earned for itself the gratitude of all the women who are to-day, and all the women who are to come after, it would have been a slower thing for the Woman's Movement; if we had got our freedom too easily, we should not perhaps have valued it any more than some of the men have valued theirs. But having won it so hardly, the effect will be that women will realise the value of that freedom, will realise that the vote is not an end in itself, but the instrument which, if rightly used, may do much to wipe out many of the blots that stain our civilisation. We shall meet you all again, we shall go on, we women, helped by the best men, to win that freedom, the love of which has been implanted in the breasts of women as well as in the breasts of men.



B. the courtesy of the "Daily Mirror."

"Our comrades, greatly daring,
Through prison bars have led the way."—*F. E. M. Maccallay.*

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

A Verbatim Report of the Speech Delivered by Christabel Pankhurst at the Queen's Hall, December 22, 1908.

Friends, I cannot help thinking to-night of the many hundreds of meetings that have been held in this country in defence of the principle of women's enfranchisement. How many times have noble women poured forth their very soul in an appeal for political justice? How many times has such an appeal been made, and made to ears that were deaf and unheeding? It is well for us all to remember that we are engaged in no new movement. There were those who came before us, pioneers of 40 and 50 years ago, who began the agitation for woman suffrage. They worked well, they worked devotedly, and yet, after all those years of work, women have not yet got the Parliamentary vote.

Well, I am afraid the reason of this is that the rulers of our country are not to be moved by appeal or by persuasion. The ordinary person, I believe, is, but among those who get into high places, those who have power over others, something seems often to go wrong with their nature, and, frankly, they don't understand the kind of enlightened appeal upon which Suffragists used to place their sole reliance. You know, friends, there is an old saying, and a very true one, and that is, "God helps those who help themselves." Now, the Suffragists of old times made a mistake, which experience—theirs and our own—has taught us to avoid. They relied too much upon the justice of their cause, and not enough upon their own strong right arm. They thought justice could go forward without help from those who wanted it. My friends, that can never be, and never has been. An idea only has life and power in so far as it is backed up by deeds. Now, that is the whole secret of success, the whole secret of getting reform. It is because we have realised that the policy of persuasion, and of argument, and of talk has failed that we have undertaken the new militant campaign, which I believe, and I think you believe, is so very nearly at a successful end. When men begin an agitation like ours, they are, of course, open to all kinds of criticism and attack, but I do not think that the very dangerous and difficult form of attack is brought to bear against them that is brought to bear against us. Men are never told that they are hysterical, and that they do not know what they are doing. They may be told they are violent, they may be told their action is reprehensible, but people are usually willing to admit that at least there is method in their madness, and that, as there is a limit to human endurance, if men are very much oppressed, they have a right to revolt against oppression. We in this woman's movement, on the other hand, have been accused of not having thought things out, and of simply running along in a headstrong fashion without knowing where we are going or why we do go.

I want you to understand, however, that our militant cam-

paign has been thought out with the utmost care. Whatever else we may be, we are neither heedless, rash, nor unthinking, and we realise that the recognition of this fact is beginning to become more general, because when they stop abusing us for being foolish and unwise, they begin to charge us with doing all this in cold blood, and not being spontaneous enough.

No, my friends, we did not undertake this campaign in any light or heedless spirit. We knew what we had got to face; we knew we had to face danger, sheer physical danger. We knew well that in what we did we ran the risk of imprisonment. Now, that is a very serious thing. Imprisonment is what you reserve for those who are preying upon society, those who are enemies of the body politic; imprisonment is the worst thing you have to offer them, and yet we knew full well that we, who were trying, at any rate, to do our duty to other people, must realise that for us this fate was in store. We knew that we should have to meet the bitter attack of the party politician—and I think there is no form of attack which is more venomous, which is more unscrupulous—and as we were women, we had to face another thing, we had to face censure as being unwomanly, as being unladylike (you know, that is worse than being unwomanly), as being, well, unconventional and ridiculous, and all the rest of it. Now, you know, to some women that is the worst thing of all, and to all men that is the worst thing of all too.

Well, I have summed up the price that had to be paid by those who adventured the perilous course of militant methods, and it astounds me to find that there should be any left (and there are not very many) who presume to condemn the people who have principles, and are trying to vindicate those principles, even though it means that the penalties fall upon themselves. It is, indeed, extraordinary how much blindness there is even in these enlightened days; people never seem to be able to read the signs of the times, they never seem able to understand what is going on under their very eyes, and yet we live in a great Christian country. We live amongst people whose minds are always turning back towards One who paid in greater measure than we have done the price of purchasing the regeneration of others. It seems to me you, none of you, understand the story of which you hear over and over again in the churches. Why, you are brought up from your cradles to understand this thing, and when, on a smaller and humbler scale, the whole thing is acted out under your very eyes, you don't seem to see at all what it means—at least, you don't see for a good long time.

Well, I assure you that if there were not a great thing at stake, we should all of us prefer to follow a course of life which would not expose us to the difficulties of which I tell you. But

think what is at stake! Human liberty! The most priceless thing there is, the only thing that is worth fighting for, the only thing that is worth paying for. We are fighting for that. We are fighting for the emancipation of women; the emancipation of men was begun a long time ago, and men are now working out their salvation, although they will never see it in full measure until the women, whose brothers and whose partners they are, see their emancipation too. We are working for the bread of women, we are working that women may not go hungry, we are working for what is even more important—we are working for the dignity of women. How can they say other questions are more important? How can they say it? They cannot really think it. Why, it is the most important question; it is the most vital question of the present day! The freedom of men and the freedom of women, the liberty of human beings—what can transcend that? When worldly affairs are concerned, what is our Government for? Government is not a game, it is not something remote from human affairs; it is something that concerns us all. Therefore, the first duty of statesmen ought to be to attend to the claims of those who are still without the elementary rights of citizenship.

Now, I am going to speak to those women here who want the vote, but don't agree with our methods. I ask them, why do you hold aloof, why do you not believe in the methods, and why if you believe in them don't you practise them? Because you know neither from you nor from Cabinet Ministers do we want sympathy. No, what we want is action. We would rather have you marching along with us side by side than we would have your cheers or your support or your praise. We do not look for that, we should miss it; we do not want you to come and say that we have done well; we want you to come and do with us! Why, then, do you not throw yourselves into this agitation, why are not you ready for prison? You should not see prison through other people's eyes, you should go there yourselves if you think that we have done well to go there. You know the old methods of working for the vote are futile, and not only futile, but humiliating, unworthy of you. I say any woman here who is content to appeal for the vote instead of demanding and fighting for it is dishonouring herself! That she may have a right to do, but she has no right to dishonour her sex, and I say you drag our women's banner in the very mud, that political roughs may trample upon it and defile it, when you are content with the old proved failures of methods of getting votes for women. Is the price too great? Cannot you make the necessary sacrifice? I can tell you that we who are prepared for it take a great joy in it. Why, sometimes when you say that we are brave and self-sacrificing, and all the rest of it, we feel that we ought to reject your compliments because we are so much happier than you. Because we don't feel we are giving up anything, because we are not giving up anything. We are getting everything. Why, the women in this Union are the happiest people in the world! We have the love of our comrades, we have the respect of our enemies, we have the support of the people, we have something to live for, and we are going to do something worth doing. We are sorry for the people who go through their lives achieving nothing, leaving the world no richer than they have found it. Those people are poor, indeed; those people we pity. As for us, we have the glorious pride of being made the instrument of those great forces that are working towards progress and liberty.

But suppose it were not so; suppose there were nothing but sorrow and sacrifice and pain and renunciation in our movement, have not women always been ready to undergo these things? We are told it is the very law of our being. [A voice: "No!"] Well, we have been told so. We do know this, that women are prepared to sacrifice themselves. Sometimes they sacrifice themselves rightly, and sometimes wrongly. When I think of the futile sacrifice which is being made every day we live by countless women, I think how well it would be if all that devotion, all that readiness to give could be directed towards great ends. Now, we in this movement are sometimes told that we are selfish, that we are unwomanly, and that we are expecting women to be different from what people have hoped they would be. Some people say: "You want women to be as bad as men, as selfish as men," but I don't think devotion to others should be or is a sex characteristic. Still the fact remains that women are always ready to give themselves in order that others may benefit. We in this movement say a woman does gloriously who will make every

possible sacrifice if what she is working towards is worth while. But we know well that is not because you are afraid, you women, that you do not join forces with us, for that is a thing one may be sure of where women are concerned. No, the old idea that women must cling to duty is, I think, at the root of the difficulty. You say: "Yes, we ought to have the vote, and the only way of getting the vote is by adopting these militant methods, but is it right that we should do so, is it right that we should break law, defy convention, and give trouble to other people? No, we cannot think it is right, and it were better to go for ever without votes than to do wrong." But, my friends, I want to point out to you that those who wish the end wish the means. If you want the vote you must do what is necessary to get the vote. If there are no other means of getting the vote than those that are militant, then the militant means must be adopted. But it is not upon this line of argument that we depend. No, we depend upon our belief that so far from being a necessary evil, revolt is a great and a glorious thing in itself when injustice has to be broken down. Therefore, we do not apologise for our methods. We say emphatically that they are right in themselves. The women who are in the wrong to-day are the women who are submitting to injustice.

Now, the rightness of revolt, the rightness of our militant methods does not depend upon success. You may resist injustice and fail, or seem to fail, and still you have done right. When you are confronted by oppression, when you are confronted by the forces of evil, then you must go and do battle against them. Unless you believe that might is right you must agree with what I say. Now, we none of us really think that might is right. There is not one here who has not read of the brave deeds of people who were few in number and weak in strength, who went forward against countless numbers greatly their superior in force. I think even when we were at school and read Macaulay's *Lays* our hearts used to thrill at the idea of "fighting against fearful odds"; we all of us feel proud of those members of the human race who have stood perhaps alone against overwhelming strength and overwhelming numbers. So often the gallant stands that men and women have made against superior force have seemed to be in vain. We read of their being crushed under foot and every trace of them being trampled away, but, somehow, I think there is in the heart of every one of us a conviction that somehow and somewhere that heroism is recorded, that heroism is counted, and that we to-day are the richer for it, and that the forces of good have been strengthened by the action of these heroes who have seemed to fail, but in reality have triumphed. And I want you to believe that even if we had no hope of success, even if we thought that our militant campaign were destined to failure, we should go on with it. We should go on with it while life was ours, we are going on with it; so long as we live we are never going to renounce this struggle. But we are going to win, for victory is not always with the big battalions. We are going to win because we have got right on our side. No, you must not forget that "thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just, and he but naked though locked up in steel whose conscience with injustice is corrupted." Well, my friends, there is great truth in those words, and I think you will admit that our quarrel is just. Why, even the enemy has to admit that. We could never win if we were not in the right, but because we are in the right we are going to win.

Now, if I had been talking about a men's agitation, a men's revolt, there is not one in this hall who would not have said, "Yes, you are right, you are right. But," you will say, "it is different with women." You say, "Women are weak, they can't fight." But have not we just made up our minds that weakness—apparent weakness—is often the real strength? Though we are women, we can win. Do not say that a curse has been laid upon us because we are women, that the fact of being women deprives us of the power of getting votes, and of the right to fight for justice, even if we do not win. No, my friends; we women have as good a right as the men, and our sex is no excuse for submission, for sloth, and for yielding to injustice. The woman who shelters herself behind her sex, and says, "I need not come out to fight because I am a woman, and I ought not to," that woman either has not a woman's spirit, or has not the right woman's spirit. That is not the kind of woman that we want to see in our country.

and that is not the kind of woman who will bring into the world the men that we want to see.

But when driven to the last argumentative pitch, some of our women friends will say, "Yes, it is all very well, but, you know, there is the Liberal Government. They are so strong, and we women, you know—well, how can we"—and they think, helplessly, "it cannot be done." Now, when I was in prison I was reading "The Seven Lamps of Architecture," and it begins with a very interesting passage dealing with this question. Ruskin thinks that failure in art, and even more in politics, comes from the fact that those who want to do something, instead of looking to their end, and steering directly towards it, enter too much into the consideration of what is possible. Now, says Ruskin, how can any of you know what is possible? Who can tell their own strength, who knows the strength of the enemy, who knows all the attending circumstances, who can possibly tell what can be managed and what cannot? We know what we ought to strive for, and I believe that nothing is impossible to the human will and the human spirit, because, you see, after all, we, every one of us, believe that it partakes of the divine, and, in so far as it does that, it can bend outside circumstances. Well, we in this Union have already learnt the truth of that. We know perfectly well that the only limit to our power is our own determination. If we are determined, if we banish all thought of sloth, if we go straight forward, looking neither to the left nor to the right, we can perform miracles. Human beings have done it. Why, when you think of air-ships, wireless telegraphy, and things of that kind, when you think of how Nature has been bent to human purposes and human needs, how are we to suppose that women banded together with a knowledge of what they want, and a knowledge of how to get it, should fail to make the Liberal Government give in! Therefore, I say to women: Take courage, never mind whether Mr. Asquith is an obstinate man or not, never mind whether the men are going to back you up or not; just do your duty, just you go straight forward, and if the Government don't give in at the first attempt, then try, try again! That is what we have been doing for some years now, and we are going to have what we think will be a final try next Session.

We have every reason to be hopeful, because we have had so much success already. Look at our Union! Just see how it is growing in numbers; see the enthusiasm of the women, see the officers of our Union, see what keen politicians they are—not a few people following blindly a few who understand, but everyone understanding for herself, and ranging herself under the banner of the commanding officers of the Union. We are like an orchestra—each one playing her own part, and producing—we think, at any rate—a very harmonious result. You see, this is all the result of the militant methods. Look, also, at our finances! They are in an exceedingly satisfactory condition, and we hope they are going to be in an even more satisfactory condition as time goes on, because the Liberal leaders, as you know, are very materially-minded; they do not care for argument, or anything of that kind—all that they want to know is, What are the resources of these women? Can we tire them out, or can they tire us out? Is this a bubble that will burst when its season has run, or will they go on for ever? Then, I say, look at the attitude of the public—see how it has changed! We are supposed to have alienated the people. But neither we nor the Liberal Government can see any evidence of that.

Well, I have been telling you why we adopt our methods; I have been trying to explain to you the frame of mind in which we are, and the reasons why we have taken to these methods, and what the methods are. If you read the leading articles in some of our newspapers, you would think our methods were Russian methods, or even worse. You really would suppose that we were the most dangerous set of people and the most violent set of people that have ever been seen. The fact is, however, that we are singularly mild—indeed, we are just as mild as we can be, consistently with doing our duty. We do not want to go an inch further than the Liberal Government drive us, because we do not want to waste our forces; we do not want to overstep the mark by a hair's breadth, and we have never done so. We go to by-elections, and work against the Government. Surely that is not very unconstitutional or very violent! I see the Welsh members are threatening to do that. I see the Welsh party say that they will go against the Government if they don't get what they want. If they can do it, why can't we? Our protests at public meetings have been

very effective, but they involve no danger to life or limb—unless our own. Mr. Lloyd George—[loud and prolonged hisses]—well, you see, it all shows how foolish Mr. Lloyd George and these other people who want to be popular are to go against Votes for Women. As I say, these protests don't involve any danger to the physical safety of our Cabinet Ministers, yet they produce a marked impression. Ministers are simply terrified. They hide from us behind locked doors. They go in secret nowadays! They dare not run the risk of meeting women even in a railway train. Have you read the *Daily News* to-day, and seen the account of Mr. Lloyd George's attempt, not only to keep women out of his meeting, but to escape them? Well, if it were the Czar of Russia going amongst his subjects, it might be natural. Why this fear? Why not trust the people? They are dreadfully afraid of women in these days—and then you say women cannot pursue militant methods with success! The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and I know this—they are more afraid of one Suffragette than they are of 5,000 men!

Then we go on deputations to the House of Commons. What is there wrong in that? Men are constantly having deputations, and I have never heard of a men's deputation going to prison yet—but we have to go to prison! I wonder how it is that you do not see that, instead of our being violent, violence is used against us! We have not caused Mr. Asquith to languish for a single day in gaol—it is he who has vicariously attacked and imprisoned us. We are very sorry to have to give all this trouble; we would rather militant methods should cease, and they would cease if we were to have the vote. Now, how simple it all is! Can't you understand that the Government have brought these troubles down upon their own heads? We are not responsible for it—they are responsible. Do not waste your sympathy upon them, my friends. It is all their own fault. If they would give us the vote, they would have no more trouble from us.

Now, what is the present position? I want to deal with that as a conclusion to my speech to-night. The third Session of the present Government has now come to an end. I do not think they can be feeling very happy to-night. This Session has witnessed a great decline in their prestige and in their influence. They are weakened and discredited. While I was in prison, I had, towards the end of my sentence, the opportunity of reading the newspaper, and I read of the inglorious figure the present Government cut in connection with the education question. What an insight all that education business gave you of the true character of this Government! I do not care which side you take in the matter, and it is not the business of anyone at this meeting to express an opinion on the rights and wrongs of the education question—we are for Votes for Women—but you can see that in that measure the Government had no care at all for their own professed principles, no care at all for the pledges they have given to their supporters, all they wanted to do was to please everybody and to have an easy time themselves.

They got to loggerheads during this year with the House of Lords, they are always getting to loggerheads with the House of Lords, and they are always announcing that this time the great campaign is going to begin. What would you say to us if we were like that? You would not respect us. You would think we were absurd, inconstant, bragging people, all talk and no action. No, we take care to be very different, but the Government have shown an attitude of contemptible weakness towards the House of Lords, which, whilst it is a matter of regret on some grounds, is a great encouragement to us. We shall make them give in, but, my friends, what a farce it is to have the present Government talking about the House of Lords and their desire to overcome its unconstitutional action!

Mr. Lloyd George said last night that the Liberal party were going to fight, among other things, for free institutions. We only wish we could take him at his word, and that we could make him prove his words to be true. Are they for free institutions, or are they against them? They have been proved to be against them. Why, on this very question in which they profess to be so deeply interested, they have shown themselves unwilling to move either hand or foot; and when it is a question of making the House of Commons itself a free institution, representative not only of half the people, but of the whole of the people, the women as well as the men—why, they are more reactionary, they are more obstinate in their opposition to justice than any other Government, of whatever complexion, could possibly be.

In addition to all this they have refused to carry our Bill, and that I think in days to come will seem to be the one outstanding feature of this Session. When the Education Bill, that hotch-potch of conflicting principles, is long forgotten, when their absurd brag about the House of Lords is forgotten, it will be remembered that a Bill for Woman Suffrage passed its second reading by a large majority, and that rather than let that Bill come to law women were imprisoned as common criminals in one of our gaols.

Yet, my friends, they have had time to pass another Bill. In a panic they have carried through a private member's measure, a measure of coercion—that's what it is, pure and simple—and because they were so anxious to put an end to action on our part, (which they could have ended in a better manner by giving us the vote), they have reduced the right of public meeting in this country to a farce. Before I say more of that, I want to tell you that if at the General Election this Bill had been in force, a great many of Mr. Asquith's supporters would have been in gaol on polling-day. We are entitled to protest at public meetings, because we are voteless, if for no other reason, but let me remind you of the fact—I speak of Manchester, where I was at the General Election—no Conservative candidate could get a hearing. Meetings were smashed, furniture was destroyed, scenes of extraordinary violence were witnessed at election meetings, and all this was done by the men whose votes have placed Mr. Asquith where he is, and have given him the power to carry this measure in order to deal with us. Now I say, better that a thousand meetings should be destroyed than that we should have this kind of interference by the police with assemblies of citizens met together to discuss public affairs. As a public speaker, I say I want none of their Bill. If I can't get a hearing by the force of my own will, by my own knowledge of how to deal with an audience, by the strength of the cause I wish to promote, then I will wait and hold a meeting some other time. Yes, we are prepared to hold our own at any meeting, and I do not see why the men politicians cannot do what we can. Do you think this Bill is going to make any difference to us? It may make it very difficult for Liberals to do as they did in Ipswich the other day, get roughs at a shilling a head to come to our meetings and make a disturbance, they will have to be ready to pay down at least £5 in future, but this Bill will not deter women from demanding the vote. We are not so poor in spirit, nor so deficient in courage that a month in prison is going to prevent us from claiming justice.

But, friends, when you look at the record of this Government, you who are Liberals, what do you feel? Are you proud of them, or do you feel deeply ashamed of them? I am sorry for you that you have such leaders. [A voice: "So are we!"] I tell you, they are not leaders, they are false to your principles, and it seems to me they are like some pirate gang who have boarded the good old ship of Liberalism, and are steering her on the rocks.

Now, what of next Session? Whilst I was in prison I read Mr. Asquith's "epoch-making speech," his "great utterance" upon the future policy of his party, upon his action for next Session. He certainly made one thing very evident, that those who shout the loudest will get the first attention. He does not study in a statesmanlike way the condition of the people, and consider which are the most pressing questions to be dealt with. No, he is looking all round, he is saying, "Who is going to worry me the most, because who worries me the most must get what he, or she, wants," and he turns—he looks at Sir Alfred Thomas, he looks at Dr. Clifford, and he looks at this, that, and the other leader, and I do not suppose—I am sure—he does not forget to keep an eye on what the Suffragettes are doing. Then he weighs it all up, and those who are the most obnoxious and active will get a place in the King's Speech.

Then he told us of another thing. A very remarkable Budget is to be introduced. Yes, ladies, they are going to take our money and play their own political games with it. If there had been women there, he would hardly have had the courage to say it—but even as it was I wonder that he could get up and say that women taxpayers were to have their pockets picked—because that is what it means when they do not give them the vote. Women are going to have their pockets picked so that Mr. Lloyd George may see what he can do to revive the sinking fortunes of the Liberal Government. And yet it is said that the predominating political issue is the question of the House of Lords. Well, they may say so, but they do not seem to think so. We know what we think the predominating issue—Votes for Women.

We handle this question of the vote in a very different fashion from that in which the Government handle the question of the House of Lords. It is all very well to say they are going to do something—but when?—what? Well, I think before they get to the House of Lords they will have plenty of time to give votes to women. They have made us an offer, but it is an offer that we have rejected with scorn. You rejected that offer with scorn at the Albert Hall. [Prolonged cheers.] That was one of the brightest days of our sentence in Holloway. It was absolutely necessary that you should do that. It was right, it was statesmanlike, it was

wise. Mr. Lloyd George told us that he was going to convert the country, but we have spared him the trouble of doing that; we have done it ourselves. It is not for him to convert the country, it is for him to do something, and for his colleagues to do something, and the chief reason why you did well in going to that meeting and making your protest was this: You made it unmistakable that we would have nothing to do with that offer; you rejected it in the most dramatic and effective way possible. For what was the offer? The same thing that we had from Mr. Asquith months ago. I suppose they thought that of the two political cooks, Mr. Lloyd George is more skilful at dishing up. We rejected the spread that Mr. Asquith laid before us; we said it wasn't fit to eat, so Mr. Lloyd George said, "Oh, I will pour a nice sauce over it; they will take it then." But no, we did not, and we shall not.

We are told that a Reform Bill is to be introduced—it was only to be for men at first, but a private member can move an amendment, and if it is carried, then the Liberal Government will send the whole thing up to the House of Lords. Now, that does not satisfy us, because we do not know when the Reform Bill is going to be introduced, for one thing. Before they go out of office, they say. But, my friends, once bitten, twice shy. The last Government was going to introduce a Redistribution Bill, and carry it before they went out of office. Now, it was our intention to try to get an instruction moved which would have led to the provision for woman suffrage in that Bill, and we were working very hard for that. The times we have moved resolutions—and got them carried—in favour of such an amendment to the Redistribution Bill! Then, as you know, the ground was cut from under our feet, because Mr. Balfour resigned office. I think the same thing is certain to happen in the present case. This Government is on its death-bed. What would you say of some hardened old sinner, who, when he was asked to repent at the eleventh hour, were to say, "Well, two or three years hence I will think about it"? You would say that was wrong, and it is wrong for a discredited Government to tell women who are crying for enfranchisement, who mean to have the vote at the next General Election, that they must wait until the last Session of Parliament, that they must wait for the Reform Bill. The Reform Bill may never be introduced. It will certainly not be carried, because it is not meant to be carried. It is a war-cry for the Liberal Party at the next General Election, and woman suffrage may or may not be part of the Government war-cry, but we shall never be a war-cry, if we can help it, for any party.

We want to vote at the next General Election. If they had wanted to go to the country on this question they ought to have done it in 1906, but now they cannot do it. It is too late for that, they must carry our Bill now. This Reform Bill, if it ever comes to life, will be too complicated to get through the House of Lords, and if it does not get through, I am afraid that, in order to facilitate its passage through the narrow legislative door, the women will be left behind as they have been before. We stand for a separate, a distinct measure for Woman Suffrage, just a Bill to say that if women show the same qualifications as men voters, they shall be voters too. We know what we want. It is not as though we were uncertain as to that; we know what we want, they have only now got to give it to us. Then, they say, as a last excuse, "We know the House of Lords won't pass it." But they must not be too sure of that. The House of Lords often disappoints this Government! They were not crocodile tears that Mr. Asquith shed at the Reform Club, they were real tears that stood in his eyes when he said he did not know why they had passed the Trades Disputes Bill. The Government has never got over it from that day to this, they did so hope the House of Lords would save them from that, and they hope, too, that the House of Lords will reject a Woman Suffrage Bill. If we compel them to pass it through the House of Commons, they hope the Lords will come to their rescue. But I, for one, do not believe the Lords will do anything of the kind. Probably the Lords will carry our Bill. I speak with all possible seriousness when I say that. But if they don't, very well then, we must try to change their minds. I am sure we shall manage better in dealing with the House of Lords than the Government can do. It seems to me that the Government think we are such good fighters that they want to get us mixed up with their Reform Bill, so that we may do the fighting and they may take the credit. But, no, no, no! We won't have such feeble allies as this Government. In any possible future conflict which may arise between us and the Upper House we can fight better without them. They would hinder us, they would prevent us from winning. We will not have anything to do with them as allies against the House of Lords.

Now, friends, I do want you all to take this question very, very seriously. One has a good deal of time for meditation in prison. We used to read the papers, and then think of what we had read, and I noticed this one thing—it is very extraordinary just to see how the world is moving on, how the conditions are changing. I noticed that in the two months in which we were in prison air

ships came out of the region of theoretical and problematical things into being something quite practical—they are to be as useful to us as motor-cars, or even more so. Now, a thing like that—and there are sure to be other things in the air—a thing like that means that the world is going to be far different in future from what it is to-day, and it means, above all, that our own national conditions are going to be changed. It means that we in this country will have to rise to new occasions, and will have to base our place among the nations on a different foundation. We shall have to readjust ourselves. Other countries are wealthy, other countries have greater territory than ours, and other countries have even greater natural resources; if we are to hold our own in the world in future we men and women of Great Britain, we have got to be well equipped. Ours must be an Empire of mind and intelligence and spirit, or we shall be left behind—other countries will hold the place that we hold to-day.

Now, I think we are all enough of patriots to want our country to stand high. We are the heirs of a great past; what are we going to hand on to posterity, what are we going to hand on to the Great Britain of the days to come? Well, I do not think things are well with our nation at the present time; I do not think the physical condition, or the mental or the spiritual condition of the mass of our people is what it ought to be, and therefore it is as patriots that we are here to-night; we want to take our share in saving our country. Will you deny us that—shall we be denied that? I do not think so; I think all men of generous and pure mind and heart will be with us in this fight. This is not a party question, it is a question for the nation. This is not a question of the moment, it is a question for all time. I call on the men who are here to-night to join forces with us, help us to overcome the Government which at the present moment is the greatest obstacle in the path of human progress. If men's eyes are still shut to these truths, yet nevertheless the women are awake, and the women have the power; they have the absolute power to gain the reform which they want; they have the power and the capacity to seize this indispensable weapon of reform, which in their own interests, and in the interests of the country that is dear to them, they ought to have, and which they speedily will have.

SHELLEY.

[Mme. Sales, of Lescar, France, who recently sent £10 to the £50,000 Fund, saved from dress allowance, to fight the Liberals as traitors to their own principles and promises and cowardly persecutors of women, is the author of the following lines.]

A century has rolled its slow length out
Since opened on this cruel world the eyes
Of him we meet to celebrate this day,
Great martyr to its hate! And seventy years
Since in the ocean's heaving bosom sank
That fairest head, that noblest heart, that e'er
Had pour'd their lyric song in English tongue;
And centuries again may roll before
The world shall recognise in full the worth
Of all he taught, as first of England's sons
To claim her daughters' freedom. His clarion voice
Has rung across the age, "This slavery *must*
Be broken!—Woman is become a thing
I weep to think upon!" And still in vain
It rings, to ears that hear not, for eyes that see
Not, all the deadly poison streaming forth
On human race, from that one primal curse
Of our subjection. Yet he whose name
Is giv'n to London's stateliest dome has said
The Christ did come "to break our every yoke."
To "bring redemption from the curse." Then why
In Christian land remains by law enforced
That curse's degradation? Woman! God's
All-crowning work! is trodden down to mire
Beneath the heels of selfishness and lust,
And rescue ne'er shall come till in the halls
Of legislation in this land, those speak
Who represent her, equal laws to claim.
And when that glorious day has come, rest not
My sisters, till those first authors of *your*
Freedom—our Shelley, Wolstoncraft, and Mill,
Be borne by women's pious care to lie
Within the shrine of Westminster, whose walls
New sanctity shall breathe, when these, the saints
Of future calendars, shall sleep beneath.
Her ancient pile, their monuments her best,
Most lasting fame, for time alone shall show
What causes ever new for gratitude shall spring
From their great work of womanhood redeem'd.

OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

SIR,—Having read the paragraph re "Women Sanitary Inspectors" in the current issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN, may I point out to you that not only must a "Woman Inspector" possess the same qualification as a "Male Inspector," but at the present date she would have no chance of election did she not possess in addition special qualifications in nursing and care of infants, which knowledge represents two, three, or more years' training in a hospital. Working as I am in a borough where out of 20 inspectors two women are the only inspectors possessing a London qualification, for which, with our specialised knowledge in nursing, &c., we receive the munificent salary of £75 per annum, I speak feelingly.

Yours, &c.,

A WOMAN INSPECTOR WHO DEMANDS A VOTE.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN should remember that by dealing with the firms which advertise in its pages they are materially assisting the cause of the N.W.S.P.U. In writing to advertisers please mention VOTES FOR WOMEN.



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St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, Thursdays, 8-10.

Important Event: Queen's Hall, Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst, Jan. 14, 8 p.m.

The first At Home in the New Year will be held on Thursday evening, January 7, from 8 to 10, in St. James's Hall, when the chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak. Admission is free, but a certain number of seats will be reserved at 2s. 6d. and 1s. The first of the Monday afternoon At Homes will be held on Monday, January 11, from 3 to 5 in the Queen's Hall. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair and Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will both speak. Admission free, but a certain number of seats are reserved at 2s. 6d. in the stalls, and the whole of the dress circle seats are charged at 1s. For particulars of the presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh, please refer to the N.W.S.P.U. announcements, p. 227. The sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN are being kept up briskly during the holidays. One member is taking 200 copies, and is collecting a band of women to help to sell them in the streets; another has ordered two dozen every week, which she will either sell or dispose of herself, while a third calls at the office weekly for a dozen copies, which she sells or gives at her own expense to people who argue the question of Votes for Women with her. Still another helper has paid three yearly subscriptions in advance, two copies weekly for sending to friends. There is room for more volunteers in this department; they should call at the office on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday at 10 a.m., or between 6 and 7 p.m. any day except Saturday. When the At Homes begin again their copies can be obtained at the halls. In response to the appeal for workers to guarantee the sale of the issue of December 24, close upon 2,000 copies were thus disposed of.

The "next thing" is the Tamworth By-Election, for which, should a Government candidate present himself, we are quite ready with our organisation and speakers.

Flora Drummond.

LANCASHIRE.

New Manchester Central Office: 164, Oxford-road.

At Home.—Manchester: Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Friday, January 8.

Important Event.—Manchester: Free Trade Hall, January 19.

The great event in Lancashire this week has been the demonstration outside Mr. Lloyd George's meeting in the Sun Hall, Liverpool, when a vigorous campaign was carried out by Miss Mary Phillips and Miss Flatman, with the help of Liverpool, Bolton, and Manchester members. Great prominence was given to the accounts of the demonstration by the local Press. It has provided just the necessary impetus which, coming after Mrs. Martel's recent campaign, should convert Liverpool into as important a stronghold as Manchester. We were pleased that Miss Woodlock and Miss Tolson were able to spend Christmas in their own homes, and not in gaol, as they had anticipated.

Last Sunday night Miss Clarkson was asked to address the members of a local branch of the I.L.P. on "Votes for Women." She had an attentive hearing, and has been asked to address them again in the New Year.

We are beginning to feel quite at home in our new offices. They have already attracted much attention from passers by, and there has been a constant stream of callers during the day purchasing literature and tickets for the great meeting on January 19, in the Free Trade Hall, when Manchester will welcome Miss Christabel Pankhurst. We are concentrating on preparations to give our townswoman a right royal welcome, and are allowing no lowering of the flag during Miss Gawthorpe's absence. We would like to be able to tell her on her return that all the tickets are sold out, and we ought not to have much difficulty in accomplishing this. Our corps of sandwichwomen are already at work with a parade through the principal streets; this will be continued nightly, and also during the dinner-hour when possible. Will all Manchester members who have time to spare during the holidays come down to the office and help those who have already promised to devote their holiday to the furthering of the cause?

Christmas has been a much happier time to each one of us, owing to the welcome news that our dear leaders and Mrs. Leigh were released from Holloway, and we hope that both they and Miss Gawthorpe will return to work completely restored in health, and with renewed strength for the coming year.

There will be a meeting for members only on January 6, at 164, Oxford-street.

Mabel Capper.

SCOTLAND.

Office, 121, Bath-street, Glasgow.

As a large number of women were unable to gain admission to the Demonstration in the Music Hall, on December 17, when Miss Helen Ogston spoke, another large meeting, in the Albert Hall, Aberdeen, was arranged by the local W.S.P.U., on Wednesday

(December 23). In spite of many counter attractions, due to its being Christmas time, there was a large and interested audience of women, with a fair sprinkling of men, and Miss Ogston gave a most stirring and convincing address, carrying her audience with her to the last second of a two hours' speech. At question-time, also, she again came off triumphantly. It is an excellent record for cautious Aberdeen to be able to add forty new names to the membership of the local W.S.P.U., and it is even more encouraging to know that hundreds of women are thinking out the subject for themselves.

On the Sunday evening previous to the music hall demonstration last week Miss Constance E. Ogston and Miss Caroline Phillips went to a meeting of the I.L.P. As the lecturer was late, Miss Ogston took the opportunity of briefly addressing the audience on Votes for Women. So excellent an impression was made by this impromptu speech that a meeting was requested, and on Sunday, December 27, Miss C. Ogston spoke on "How the Women's Vote will Affect the Working Classes."

The first At Home in the New Year will be held on January 9.

G. M. Conolan.

LOCAL NOTES.

Edinburgh W.S.P.U.—On Tuesday last a decorated cab drove through the streets of Edinburgh to celebrate the release of the prisoners, and a large open-air meeting was held in the evening and addressed by several of our members, each giving a five minutes' speech. The meeting finished up with three hearty cheers for Mrs. and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh. This has been a busy week selling our Christmas wares, and large numbers of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been sold to people desirous of sending them to friends instead of Christmas cards.

ESSON MAULE.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—The debate on women's suffrage at the Brockley Presbyterian Church Hall, on Monday, December 21, was a great success. Miss Seymour, who (in lieu of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst) opened the debate with a clear and convincing statement of the case, met with hearty support, as well as with lively opposition in the subsequent discussion, all of which, however, led to an admirable summing up on Miss Seymour's part. A hearty vote of thanks was passed, and the hope expressed that Miss Seymour would open another debate on "Votes for Women" next session in the same hall. Mrs. Conolly's speech from the chair was concise and to the point, and she showed much tact in keeping the different speakers within the limits of subject and time. Literature was sold and a collection taken.

J. A. BOUVIER.

Stoke-on-Trent W.S.P.U.—There has been little to report during the last few weeks owing to the fact that we have been unable to hold the usual open-air meetings on Monday and Thursday, the weather having been too unfavourable. We have, however, continued to work in a quiet way, and are satisfied with the result. On Monday evening, the 21st inst., an At Home was held at my house, which was well attended by the members and friends. The meeting being the final one of the year, was more of a social gathering, and our greatest source of pleasure was the unexpected release of Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh, and the present situation was the subject of conversation. We also discussed plans for a big meeting, and even now are preparing in real earnest for the New Year's work. We all join in the sincere wish that before 1909 passes away British women will have been enfranchised. The women's movement is growing stronger day by day, and I earnestly appeal to all women to join our ranks, especially the women of Stoke, to strengthen the hands of the local workers. All information may be had on application to the Hon. Secretary, at No. 22, Penkville-street (near Booth Church), London-road, Stoke-on-Trent.

ADELIN REDFERN-WILDE (Mrs.)

The Colours in Wimbledon.—On Saturday at a reception given by the Matron and Nurses at the Wimbledon Cottage Hospital, the extensive decorations were in every particular carried out in the purple, white, and green. A Suffragette cake formed an attractive feature, and this, by reason of her office, the secretary of the Wimbledon W.S.P.U. was invited to cut. To bring the Union thus under discussion could only have been hazarded by enthusiastic workers for the cause as the matron and her nurses have proved themselves to be. Conspicuous in the scheme of his Christmas window decoration, a leading Wimbledon confectioner displayed a lady doll, admired of all the neighbourhood, in her gown of silken sheen in the Union's hues. There is more in these colours than meets the eye.

A NEW BOOK REVIEWED.

There is a sense of rhythm and a genuine feeling for Nature in many of the verses in this very beautifully printed little volume. Militant Suffragists will probably be especially attracted by "The Song of Liberty," beginning "Arise! arise arise!" The poet is at his best, though, in our opinion when he is singing of those things that he seems to know and love up and down the countryside. The "Blackbird's Song" is one of the best in the book, and we also like especially, "If the bee should love the music of his wings," and the lines beginning, "Thousands there are to sing of you, oh, Heather and Gorse and Pine." A certain crudity of expression, here and there, causes little lapses into the commonplace that, unfortunately, spoil some of the writer's less happy efforts.

† "The Rustle Choir," and Other Poems. By A. R. Throckmole. (The Samura Press.)

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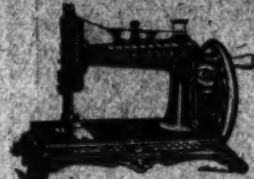
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